

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00

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O 181208Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9830

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 0983

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PL, GW

SUBJECT: POLISH-GERMAN AGREEMENTS

REFS: BONN 2601, STATE 37536, WARSAW 0843

1. FOLLOWING HIS MEETING FEBRUARY 13 WITH SENATOR BROOKE, FOREIGN MINISTER OLSZOWSKI ASKED ME TO STAY BEHIND. HE SIAD THAT THE FRG AND POLAND NOW "STOOD BEFORE A CATASTROPHE, WHICH MUST BE AVOIDED IF A GRAVE BLOW IS NOT TO BE DEALT TO DETENTE." HE THEN TOLD ME THAT HE HAD INSTRUCTED TRAMPCZYNSKI TO CALL IMMEDIATELY AT THE DEPARTMENT "AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL POSSIBLE" TO MAKE THE APPROACH REPORTED IN STATE 37536. HE SAID THAT HE WANTED ME TO BE INFORMED OF THIS STEP AND HOPED THAT I WOULD SUPPORT TRAMPCZYNSKI'S REQUEST FOR ASSITANCE. I SAID THAT WE HAD BEEN KEEPING THE DEPARTMENT FULLY INFORMED OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLISH OPINION ON THIS SUBJECT AND THAT WE STRONGLY HOPED THE BUNDESRAT AND BUNDESTAG WOULD APPROVE THE AGREEMENTS. I DID NOT UNDERTAKE TO URGE THAT WE ASSIST THE POLISH GOVERNMENT, SINCE I THOUGHT WARSAW 843 ADEQUATELY CONVEYED OUR VIEW.

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2. I SAY MY FRG COLLEAGUE YESTERDAY. HE SAYS WITH RESIGNATION THAT HE IS ON THE EVE OF THE FAILURE OF HIS MISSION AND THE WASTE OF THE LAST FOUR YEARS, DURING WHICH HE HAS BEEN CHIEF OF MISSION HERE. HE IS WAITING NOW FOR ADVICE FROM BONN WHETHER HE SHOULD RETURN THERE TO HELP LOBBY FOR PASSAGE OF THE AGREEMENTS, BUT SAYS THAT, WHETHER HE RETURNS TO BONN OR NOT, HE SEES NO CHANCE THAT THE BUNDESRAT WILL PASS THE PENSION LEGISLATION. IN HIS OPINION, THE BEST THAT COULD HAPPEN UNDER CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD BE DEFERRAL OF CONSIDERATION UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTION.

3. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND HAS MADE A STRONG CASE AGAINST OUR WEIGHING IN HEAVILY WITH THE CDU/CSU. FROM THE VANTAGE POINT OF WARSAW, IT INEVITABLY SEEMS MORE IMPORTANT TO DETERMINE WHAT WE MIGHT DO THAT COULD OFFER SOME HOPE OF SALVAGING THE SITUATION. WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO MAKE EXACT JUDGMENTS ON THE EFFECT OF DEFEAT OF THE SCHMIDT-GIEREK AGREEMENTS ON GIEREK'S FUTURE, BEYOND SAYING THAT IT WOULD GIVE EXCELLENT ARGUMENTS TO HIS ENEMIES AND TO THOSE POLES -- AND THERE ARE QUITE A NUMBER OF THEM -- WHO REGARD THE AGREEMENTS AS OFFERING TOO LITTLE TO POLAND, IN TERMS OF COMPENSATION FOR WAR DAMAGE, AND TOO MUCH TO THE FRG, IN TERMS OF PERMISSION TO EMIGRATE FOR SUCH A LARGE NUMBER OF "ETHNIC GERMANS." THE GREAT PITY OF THE CURRENT SITUATION, OF COURSE, IS THAT A FUTURE CDU/CSU GOVERNMENT WILL PRESUMABLY HAVE TO REVERT TO THIS WHOLE QUESTION, ONCE IT HAS ASSUMED POWER. WHEN IT DOES, IT WILL ALMOST SURELY FIND THE TERMS WHICH THE POLES WILL ACCEPT MUCH STIFFER THAN THOSE EMBODIED IN THE PRESENT AGREEMENTS.

4. I AM PREPARED TO GO BACK TO OLSZOWSKI AND ASK HIM TO SEE WHETHER GIEREK CAN PROVIDE ADDITIONAL ASSURANCES ABOUT THE TREATMENT OF THE "ETHNIC GERMANS." THERE IS, HOWEVER, NO POINT AT ALL IN OUR ATTEMPTING TO OBTAIN FROM THE POLES AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS SPECIFIED IN THE SCHMIDT-GIEREK AGREEMENTS OR IN OUR SPONSORING ANY OTHER ASSURANCE WHICH THE POLES WOULD REGARD AS CONSTITUTING AN FRG ATTEMPT AT RE-CONFIDENTIAL

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NEGOTIATION.

5. BEYOND THAT, I HOPE THE COUNSELOR CAN MAKE IT CLEAR TO KOHL, AT THEIR FEBRUARY 20 MEETING, JUST HOW DAMAGING REJECTION OF THE AGREEMENTS WILL BE, FIRST OF ALL, TO THE CAUSE OF GERMAN-POLISH RECONCILIATION AND, SECONDLY, TO THAT OF CONTINUING THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST (I.E.

"DETENTE").

6. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SEE NEWSPAPER STORIES COME OUT OF WASHINGTON TOMORROW EXPRESSING OUR DEEP CONCERN AT THE PROSPECT OF REJECTION. SUCH STORIES SHOULD FEATURE THE FACT THAT DETENTE WAS, IN VERY LARGE PART, AN FRG INVENTION (OSTPOLITIK) AND ONE THAT GREATLY REDOUNDED TO THE CREDIT OF THE WEST GERMANS, SINCE, WITH REGARD TO THE AGREEMENTS WITH POLAND, THE POLICY WAS DESIGNED TO HEAL THE DEEPEST WOUNDS CAUSED BY THE SECOND WORLD WAR. AT BEST, THERE WILL NOW ENSUE A RATHER LENGTHY PAUSE, DURING WHICH THE FRG STANDS TO LOSE ITS CAPABILITY OF ASSISTING THE "ETHNIC GERMANS" (MANY OF WHOM SPEAK LITTLE OR NO GERMAN AND HAVE POLISH NAMES) AND WILL JEOPARDIZE ITS POSITION AS THE NO. 1 WESTERN TRADING PARTNER OF POLAND. AT WORST, THE HALF-HEALED WOUND WILL BE RE-OPENED AND THE WHOLE HEALING PROCESS WILL HAVE TO START FROM SCRATCH SOME MONTHS -- OR YEARS -- HENCE.

7 THE COUNSELOR'S REPRESENTATIONS OF KOHL AND SUCH STORIES FROM DEPARTMENT SOURCES MAY WELL BE REGARDED BY THE CDU/CSU AS U.S. PRESSURE. INEVITABLY, FROM WARSAW, WE FEEL THE STATKES ARE SUFFICIENTLY HIGH, IN TERMS OF THE CONTINUATION OF DETENTE, TOWARRANT THE EXERTION OF SOME PRESSURE.  
DAVIES

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